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Drawn by Nina E. Allender

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Notes of the Week

A Comparison

THE railroad men's brotherhoods plan increased wage demands. The chief complainants are passenger trainmen who got little or no benefit from the Adamson law. In order to prevent even the threat of a railroad tie-up now—what did President Wilson do? He summoned the four brotherhood heads to Washington for a conference this week. He is already mentioning "amicable agreement," and suggesting arbitration.

Toward the political demands of women who do not strike President Wilson has shown no reasonable attitude of compromise. Women who persist in asking for what he acknowledges just and nationally important he throws into prison. He is thinking hard at present, however, and women know he will soon produce second thoughts. Trade union power comes from the vote as well as from the power of striking.

New York Governor is Frank

"I HAVE appointed Mrs. Elinore Higley, of Hudson Falls, to the State Board of Charities," says Governor Whitman, of New York, "and there will be more."

He remarks also, "Women's opportunity for public service should go with their new-won power." Women's capacity for public service in New York is no greater this month than it was last month. The idea that trained women are in their place on boards of education, charities, and in other offices is one that dawns rapidly on politicians when several million women gain the franchise—not all of them are so honestly blunt about it as Mr. Whitman.

One Woman Against the System

A DENVER woman, single-handed, has started war against Colorado food profiteers.

The only food control bill passed at the last session of the Colorado legislature was apparently unknown to state officials until Mrs. L. C. Holtschneider, chairman of the legislative committee of the Housewives' League, began enforcing it. This measure forbids the wilful destruction of foodstuffs for maintaining higher prices, and carries high penalties for shippers and commission merchants who break the law. When Mrs. Holtschneider found by daily trips to the Denver freight yards that no attention was being paid to the regulations, and in one day came upon one hundred cars of potatoes, onions, and apples sidetracked, she went to the railroad official in charge and then, getting no response from him, to the United States district attorney to whom she presented all the facts, and who offered his co-operation under interstate commerce provisions. Within twenty-four hours all but three of the cars were started on their way. One of the three left was loaded with potatoes belonging to Denver commission men. These had stood in the yards over forty days, were frozen, and were being held for sale when the market was "short." The three were quickly unloaded.

"Food is not going to be wasted in Denver or Colorado this winter," says Mrs. Holtschneider, who is a member of the National Woman's Party in Colorado.

One woman in every city using a little of this direct action against the corrupt food distribution methods that are inflating prices and tying up freight cars, would accomplish more for food conservation in a day than she could in a year of Hooverizing in her kitchen. Needless to say her results will be directer in Colorado or New York, than where women are still unenfranchised.

Women in Colorado Legislature

WOMEN in Colorado have started a campaign to elect forty women to the state legislature in 1918. They plan to put ten into the senate and thirty into the lower house. The Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, which is behind the campaign, will not put a ticket of its own into the field, but will use its strength in the September primaries to have as many women named as there are men running on the regular Democratic and Republican tickets.

Women in Colorado cast a little over fifty per cent of the total vote.

A Message

"THERE were 3,298,000 British women in paid employment in July, 1914, and 4,538,000 in April, 1917," said Mr. Arthur Hayday, fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention from the British Trade Union Congress. "That is an increase, roughly, of a million and a quarter of women in industry. And top wages paid women at the start were twenty-six shillings a week. Many of them did piece-work, and suffered the consequences. Today thousands of women are being put on compensation because of physical injury they have suffered in trying to do work too heavy or too trying for their strength. They have shortened their normal life by years. They are doing this for their nation, and we know the sacrifice they make."

Mr. Hayday pointed out that under the new franchise bill, now before the House of Lords, about five million English women will be enfranchised. His explanation of the problems of women's war work and their industrial status after the war, as well as problems of taxation, food profiteering and so on, shows how much further England has gone in acknowledging and settling these questions than the United States. His message to this country was a demand for democracy, and it proved how far behind on the road to democracy the United States is lagging.

Conclusions

RUSSIA, according to the United States Children's Bureau, has withdrawn the power given her minister of labor and industry at the beginning of the war to grant to firms doing war work exemptions from laws regulating hours and the employment of women and children under seventeen.

Canada, New Zealand, and Australia have kept up through three years of war their high standards of labor protection.

England is putting through a bill for better education of children by fixing the compulsory school attendance age at fourteen with no exemptions, and requiring that all working children under eighteen spend at least 320 hours a year in continuation schools.

All of these countries that are making attempts at decent arrangements to safeguard easily exploited labor are equal suffrage countries. The United States, which is letting down labor standards on all sides and has not yet begun to consider the industrial problems that follow increased employment of unenfranchised women, has, needless to say, not yet given women political power.

Suffrage in Swedish Capital

THE attempt to form a coalition government, which recently failed in Sweden, tailed, according to the English *Common Cause*, because the Liberals and Social Democrats insisted that Conservative members should pledge themselves to carry franchise reform through in the strongly conservative upper house as well as in the lower. Both Liberals and Social Democrats are pledged to support women's suffrage. After the attempt at the coalition, M. Eden, the Liberal leader, was asked to form a cabinet half Liberal and half Social Democrat. This he has done, putting seven Liberals and four Social Democrats into the new ministry. The new government has two objects—the preservation of strict neutrality and introduction of electoral reform, including woman suffrage.

With Russia, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, and most of Canada enfranchised, and England and the rest of Canada on the edge of enfranchisement, Sweden and the United States are left the backward nations across the upper part of the Western Continent. And in Sweden the politicians are clearly wider awake to the question than they yet are in this country.

A Week of the Women's Revolution

THIRTY-EIGHT suffragists in a Government prison—the brutality old Russia used on Revolutionists turned upon American women by an American government. Fifty years from now this week of the federal amendment struggle will read a black page in our political history. The next generation will hardly conceive that women could war in this against a Democratic Administration for the simplest democracy, and that the Democratic Administration could fight back with persecution unworthy a czar. Meanwhile the revolution of women grows.

On Friday, November 17, three more women were sentenced to prison by the police court judge for their part in carrying this petition to President Wilson: "Mr. President, in your message to Congress urge the passage of the federal amendment enfranchising women." These were Mrs. Harvey Wiley, of Washington; Mrs. William Kent, of California; and Miss Elizabeth McShane, of Philadelphia. They were given fifteen days in the District jail on the November 10th charges. The forty-one women who had been tried for this day's picketing on the 12th, it will be remembered, had been pronounced guilty and indefinitely dismissed by the judge. Those who did not take part again in the two later lines had returned to their homes and had not been summoned. These three were in court for trial with the other women arrested for picketing on Monday; but the Monday cases, already once postponed, were further postponed with that inconsistency of justice for which the District court is noteworthy.

Mrs. Wiley and Miss McShane were taken to the District jail. The fine of Mrs. Kent was found to have been sent to the court before the trial began, and was automatically paid when her sentence was given. She protested emphatically: "I refuse to allow the payment of this fine. There is a charge against me for which there is an alternative penalty. To accept one of these penalties voluntarily is an admission of guilt. It is obviously beyond my power to refuse to go to jail. I can refuse to pay the fine and I believe I am within my rights when I refuse to have it paid." When the court declared the fine would be paid in spite of her protest, Mrs. Kent demanded a new trial, saying there is a stigma against her name as long as the judgment of "guilty" stands. Four days were granted her for filing her protest. As she left the court she said: "I feel the country should understand this matter in its true light, as the political protest of an unenfranchised class. I should think all women who are out of jail would feel, as I feel, that their place is in jail, and that it is an honor for those who are there to be there."

Mrs. Wiley's case had been appealed after the first trial. The court made every effort to suspend her sentence on Friday, showing the greatest reluctance to imprison her. She refused to allow this favoritism: "You cannot put me on probation against my will," she declared, "and I will not see my companions imprisoned for the same act with which I am charged and go free myself. I would rather go to jail for liberty than be free while innocent women are being held in prison incommunicado, and denied every right accorded to other prisoners. I go with a protest against the disfranchisement of American women and against the Administration's consent to cut off women's appeal for liberty by false arrest and illegal imprisonment." She served three days before the appeal was granted.

ON Friday news came from Occoquan of a campaign of terrorism started against the suffrage prisoners by the Administration tools the moment they appeared at Occoquan on Wednesday. Before they were given a chance to fall in line with the rules of the place or to demand the rights of political prisoners for which they were resolved to stand, they were seized by eighty guards and thrown with most dangerous roughness into punishment cells. They were forbidden to speak. Miss Lucy Burns was handcuffed to the bars of her cell. No food was offered them until late the next day. Violence and threats of greater violence were used with clear intent to break down their spirit. A note Miss Burns succeeded in smuggling out to Headquarters suggests what the women suffered.

"WEDNESDAY, November 14. Demanded to see Superintendent Whittaker. Request refused. Mrs. Herndon, the matron, said we would have to wait up all night. One of the men guards said he would 'put us in sardine box and put mustard on us.' Superintendent Whittaker came at nine p. m. He refused to hear our demand for political rights. Seized by guards from behind, flung off my feet, and shot out of the room. All of us were seized by men guards and dragged to cells in men's part. Dorothy Day was roughly used—back twisted. Mrs. Mary A. Nolan (73-year-old picket from Jacksonville, Fla.) flung into cell. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis shot past my cell. I slept all night with Dorothy Day in a single bed. I was handcuffed for asking the others how they were, and was threatened with a strait-jacket and a buckle gag.

"THURSDAY, November 15. Brought to hospital. Food brought for first time at noon. All refused it.

"FRIDAY, November 16. Expected to go to court today. Asked for Whittaker. He said to matron over telephone, 'No orders.' Whittaker came. He seized Julia Emory by the back of her neck, and threw her into the room very brutally. She is a little girl. I asked for counsel to learn the status of the case. I was told to shut up, and was again threatened with a strait-jacket and a buckle gag. Later I was taken to put on prison clothes, refused, and resisted strenuously. I was then put in a room where delirium tremens patients are kept."

SIXTEEN of the prisoners refused food when it was at last offered and have eaten nothing since last Wednesday. Instead of the usual Occoquan fare of wormy soup and tainted meat, appetizing fried chicken was finally brought to try to break down their strike for decent conditions. The women who have hungerstruck are: Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Catherine Lincoln, of Philadelphia; Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Paula Jacobi, Mrs. L. N. Hornesby, Miss Dorothy Day, Miss Cora Week, Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, of New York; Miss Lucy Daniels, of Grafton, Vermont; Miss Cornelia Whitcomb, of Worcester, Massachusetts; Miss Betty and Miss Alice Gram, of Portland, Oregon; Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore; Mrs. George Scott, of Montclair, New Jersey; Miss Hattie Kruger, of Buffalo, New York; and Miss Matilda Young, of the District of Columbia.

Meanwhile the prisoners were allowed no visitors or counsel, and it was found that the District Commissioners had decreed no one could see them. Miss Katherine Morey, who went to demand sight of her mother, was held under armed guard half a mile from the prison. A detachment of United States Marines is guarding the place. At last Mr. Mathew O'Brien, who acts as counsel for the Woman's Party, in the absence of Mr. Dudley Field Malone, succeeded in getting an order from the court admitting him to the prison. He saw Miss Burns, Mrs. Brannan and Mrs. Lewis once, but was afterwards refused admission in spite of the order. He brought back word of seeing Miss Burns lying on a cot in a dark cell, wrapped in a blanket because her clothes had been stripped from her. He was filled with admiration for her spirit and for her control, saying that after all she had gone through in her insistence on the rights of suffrage prisoners to be treated as political offenders, she was as much herself as if he had met her in the drawing-room of Cameron House.

ON Sunday, Whittaker, becoming alarmed at the strength of purpose in the women and their increasing weakness, called them all to his office and declared he would not forcibly feed any of them unless they assumed in writing responsibility for any injury to their health that might be caused them by the operation. When they refused to do anything so absurd to relieve their jailor's anxiety, he said: "All right, you can starve." He had second thoughts about this, however, and on Sunday night, according to Mrs. J. H. Short, who had to secure her release on Monday because her mother's illness left her children uncared for, he went to Mrs. Lewis greatly disturbed at her condition. Mrs. Lewis, who was badly bruised on the night of her arrival by being hurled to the floor of her stone cell, was by that time so weak she could not move without assistance. Mr. Whittaker asked what could be done. Mrs. Lewis answered that their demands for treatment as political offenders were simple—their mail, exercise, the privilege of buying or receiving food, visitors, and reading matter. He then asked her to put these demands in writing, as if written by himself. This she did and on Monday morning he brought them in to the Commis-

sioners, asking that they be granted. Commissioner Gardner gave out a statement that these demands would never be granted by them.

On Monday, also, Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Florida, was released at the end of her six-day sentence, returning very weak to Headquarters because in spite of her seventy-three years she had been roughly handled and had been offered no food from Wednesday until late Friday. The report she made of the extreme cruelty being used against the suffragists and of the weakness of the women, together with the already known facts of the long hunger strike and Whittaker's purpose of burying the prisoners, made Headquarters decide to hurry the only course left them, habeas corpus proceedings. By this means the prisoners would be brought into court and the Government forced to show cause for their imprisonment under the conditions in which they are held.

Mr. O'Brien had gone to Richmond last Friday to United States District Judge Waddill for a writ of habeas corpus. This was granted, returnable on November 27. In the fear that the women would not be able to endure starvation and the indignities they are suffering so long, he made another hurried journey to Judge Waddill at Norfolk and succeeded in having the hearing set ahead to Friday, the 23d.

ON Wednesday Superintendent Whittaker, fearing their death, moved two of the prisoners, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Lucy Burns, from Occoquan to the District jail. They had been without food for seven days, and before their removal were forcibly fed. Their struggles against this dangerous operation were described as terrifying by the prisoners who heard them. Two notes smuggled out from them describe what they have had to endure at the hands of petty officials who, in refusing decent treatment to women that have broken no law, have clearly acted upon orders from authorities higher up. Mrs. Lewis writes:

"I was seized and laid on my back, where five people held me, a young colored woman leaping upon my knees, which seemed to break under the weight. Dr. Gannon then forced the tube through my lips and down my throat, I gasping and suffocating with the agony of it. I didn't know where to breathe from, and everything turned black when the fluid began pouring in. I was moaning and making the most awful sounds quite against my will, for I did not wish to disturb my friends in the next room. Finally the tube was withdrawn. I lay motionless. After awhile I was dressed and carried in a chair to a waiting automobile, laid on the back seat and driven into Washington to the jail hospital. Previous to the feeding I had been forcibly examined by Dr. Gannon, I struggling and protesting that I wished a woman physician."

Miss Burns was fed through the nose. Her note is as follows:

"WEDNESDAY, 12 m. Yesterday afternoon at about four or five, Mrs. Lewis and I were asked to go to the operating room. Went there and found our clothes. Told we were to go to Washington. No reason as usual. When we were dressed Dr. Gannon appeared, said he wished to examine us. Both refused. Were dragged through halls by force, our clothing partly removed by force, and we were examined, heart tested, blood pressure and pulse taken. Of course such data was of no value after such a struggle. Dr. Gannon told me then I must be fed. Was stretched on bed, two doctors, matron, four colored prisoners present, Whittaker in hall. I was held down by five people at legs, arms, and head. I refused to open mouth, Gannon pushed tube up left nostril. I turned and twisted my head all I could, but he managed to push it up. It hurts nose and throat very much and makes nose bleed freely. Tube drawn out covered with blood. Operation leaves one very sick. Food dumped directly into stomach feels like a ball of lead. Left nostril, throat and muscles of neck very sore all night. After this I was brought into the hospital in an ambulance. Mrs. Lewis and I placed in same room. Slept hardly at all.

"This morning Dr. Ladd appeared with his tube. Mrs. Lewis and I said we would not be forcibly fed. Said he would call in men guards and force us to submit. Went away and we not fed at all this morning. We hear them outside now cracking eggs."

WEDNESDAY night Mr. O'Brien went to Occoquan and again by a court order got into the prison to see his clients. He found them separated and under systematic persecution to break down their spirit and stop the hunger strike. Every conceivable lie has been told them. They have each been assured that all the others have given up the strike. They were even told that no efforts were being made from the outside to reach them, and that the attorney had been called off the case. Needless to say the women were too sure of the Woman's Party to be disheartened, and their pluck has kept them in magnificent spirit!

Late at night on the 21st Mr. O'Brien managed to serve the writ of habeas corpus on Superintendent Whittaker. Traveling to Occoquan in the car of Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, of the District, together with Miss Katherine Morey, the attorney succeeded by a ruse in catching the superintendent after several attempts. When Whittaker's presence at home was denied, Mr. O'Brien went away, telephoned that he would not, after all, return until morning, and then going back quickly, found him, of course, at his house and served the papers. Every device possible has been used by the Administration authorities to quash this writ and prevent the appearance of the prisoners in court. Only the great weakness of the women prevented their removal by Whittaker to the District jail before the writ could be served.

With all difficulties overcome now, however, on Friday, at ten-thirty the twenty-five women at Occoquan will be produced in the federal court at Alexandria, and this chapter in the dark story of the Administration's attempt at crushing suffragists will be opened for inspection.

The Government Holds "the Ringleader"

IN the District jail, Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party, has spent a little over thirty days of her seven months' sentence. For thirty days she has eaten no food and endured the torture of forcible feeding three times daily. Weak, shut away from the world, except for hurried words with friends who have managed to get to her window—and this is being made exceedingly difficult to do—Miss Paul keeps her strength of purpose clear and follows every move of the organization with her usual concentration. Every penciled note on scraps of paper that she can manage to smuggle out is all of what is best to do, of the December convention, of money to carry on the work. The authorities think they have caught the "ringleaders" of the movement they are trying to crush in putting Alice Paul and Lucy Burns in jail; they are finding that the spirit of the movement cannot be crushed in prison.

Besides Miss Paul and the two prisoners recently moved in from Occoquan, Mrs. Lewis and Miss Burns, there are in the jail, Miss Rose Winslow and Miss Hilda Blumborg, of New York; Miss Elizabeth McShane, of Philadelphia; Miss Maude Jamison, of Norfolk, Virginia; Miss Minnie Hennessy, of Hartford, Connecticut; and Miss Kate Heffelfinger, of Shamokin, Pennsylvania. All of these prisoners have from the first been discriminated against. Put into solitary confinement, they were allowed none of the regular prisoners' rights, visitors, mail, the chance to see their attorney, the privilege of buying or receiving food. They were not allowed to have the money sent to them, although there is a prison shop where the other prisoners can buy what they need. It was for these injustices and to force the Government to give them the regular status of political prisoners recognized in every civilized country except the United States, that Miss Paul and Miss Winslow, and then Miss Heffelfinger and Miss McShane, as soon as she joined the others, refused to eat.

It was only after the greatest difficulty, and as a result of his appeal to Chief Justice Stafford for a writ of habeas corpus, after having been refused admittance to his clients, that Mr. Malone, chief counsel for the National Woman's Party, persuaded Warden Zinkham to let him in to see Miss Paul and Miss Winslow. Miss Paul at that time was confined in the psychopathic ward, with the clear purpose of casting reflection upon her. Every attempt was made there to depress and intimidate her. Miss Winslow, who is weak and ill,

and who has been deprived of her own medicine given her in treatment by a well-known New York physician, is in the hospital. After his visit to the jail Mr. Malone gave out this statement:

"Miss Paul and Miss Winslow both are very weak and are being forcibly fed. They are resisting food as a protest against the failure of the Government to treat as political offenders women who are arrested for demanding the passage of the federal suffrage amendment.

"I was shocked to find that Miss Paul, because she is the leader of the National Woman's Party, had been singled out from among the other suffragists and transferred to the psychopathic ward, in spite of her demand first to see her personal physician and her attorney.

"Miss Paul is imprisoned in a room in the midst of insane patients, whose shrieks she can hear day and night. For fear she may not hear them, the door of her room has been taken off. One of the windows has been boarded up with heavy wooden shutters and the other one cannot be opened to let in air, so that most of the air must come from the inside halls of the building. Against her protests, alienists have repeatedly been sent to interview Miss Paul and have even brought with them a stenographer to take down what she says.

"I talked with Miss Paul for an hour and a half, and she is more sane than any of the Administration officials who have been responsible for this outrage. I demanded of the warden that this malicious attempt to discredit Miss Paul's leadership and to reflect upon her sanity in placing her in the psychopathic ward, surrounded by maniacs, cease at once, and that she be removed forthwith. If this is not done, I shall appeal to the court for relief from this unspeakable situation.

"It is time that the sportsmanship and gallantry of American men and that the humanity and political power of the women voters of the State of New York and of the Western States, speak out against the conduct of the Government."

By making the most forcible demands Mr. Malone succeeded in having Miss Paul moved to the hospital where Miss Winslow is held.

Miss Kate Heffelfinger started hunger-striking on November 10, and after ten days without food was removed to the hospital for forcible feeding. What she has suffered is suggested in a fragmentary note smuggled out by a secret channel last Wednesday:

"Three times a day for fourteen days Alice Paul and Rose Winslow have been going through the torture of forcible feeding. I now know what that torture is. The horrible griping and gagging of swallowing six inches of stiff rubber tubing—such a strain on the nervous system is not to be imagined—even when the tubing was, as for me, held by gentle hands. That over, there is the ordeal of waiting while the liquids are poured through—then the withdrawal of the tube! With streaming eyes and parched, burning throat, one lies, thinking why it is done—wondering how the people of this nation already tasting blood and pain can let this be done to these women day after day . . . . women who are in prison because they ask for liberty."

Miss Elizabeth McShane, sentenced last Friday, started a hunger strike at once on her arrival at the jail and is doubtless by now undergoing the feeding. Mrs. Harvey Wiley, who was released on Monday on an appeal of her case, brought out the latest news of the prisoners still held in the jail proper. She said of Miss Heffelfinger: "It is really pathetic. She is so gallant and so gay, but for the last two days she has lain on her bed all the time. Miss McShane began her hunger strike when she entered last Friday. She is as plucky as she can be, but she begins to look badly. We made written and oral requests for treatment as political prisoners, but our simple demands were refused. One thing we especially needed, daily open air exercise to offset the concentrated unbalanced prison diet. We explained that since we were prisoners for a principle there was no need to fear our attempting to escape. We would not have been in prison had we wished to escape. Nevertheless we were constantly guarded like criminals.

"One day while I was in prison they actually gave us a set of prison rules, the thing that Miss Paul has so often asked for. There seemed to be only one typed copy. When the rules were read to the colored prisoners, they all laughed as if they had never heard of them before.

"It is hard to realize that women are being forced to undergo the suffering of forcible feeding when these are the only things which they are asking: (1) to have and wear our own clothes; (2) to send and receive mail regularly, such mail to be inspected by the prison authorities, if necessary; (3) to have outdoor exercise each day; (4) to receive visitors at such time of day as is convenient to the prison authorities; (5) to have what books and newspapers we need; (6) to receive food which is brought or sent to us from friends outside, and to buy such food as we desire."

The cruelty and injustice of denying these simple things to the suffrage prisoners is increased by the fact that except for their own clothes, the regular prisoners, murderers, thieves and the like, have all these privileges without question. It is only the suffrage prisoners, who in standing for a principle of justice and democracy, have opposed the Democratic Administration.

A Note from Alice Paul

MISS WINSLOW and I are at opposite ends of this building, each locked in a room with an iron barred door. I saw her as they brought me in a stretcher from the psychopathic ward, but have not seen her since. We are each in a ward with three windows. Today they nailed two of my windows shut, so that they cannot be opened. The third window has been nailed shut at the bottom so that the only air I have now is from the top of one window. This was done by the order of Dr. Gannon. He seems determined to deprive me of air, because air is one of the things we demanded in our letter asking for recognition as political offenders. We have, of course, been deprived of everything else that was included in our original demand—letters, books, visitors, decent food, except as they force it upon us through tubes. Two weeks ago they did give us letters, like this one on the back of which I am writing.

I was in the psychopathic ward just a week, and was only released, I think, because of Mr. Malone's efforts. It was apparently an attempt at intimidation. Dr. Gannon said that if I persisted in hunger striking he would "write a prescription" to have us taken to the psychopathic ward and fed forcibly.

I was thereupon placed upon a stretcher and taken there. Dr. Gannon, another doctor, and several nurses, then proceeded to feed me forcibly. As he was leaving the room Dr. Gannon turned to the nurse and instructed her to "observe" me. The nurse "observed" me once an hour through each night, coming to the door and turning on the electric light, which was flashed into my face. At first I wakened each time she came. After a while I grew accustomed to it. In addition to this little device of "observing," they used other means to make one know one's sanity was doubted. A Doctor LaConte came one day to examine me. I told him I did not want to be examined. Dr. LaConte then told me I was not in a mental condition, as I must of course know, to judge of things for myself. He and two other doctors and three nurses then fell upon me and took samples of my blood by force.

I was locked in my room so I did not see the other inmates except once or twice when they came down the corridor and looked through my bars. One could hear them, however. The last morning I was there the cries began at five-thirty. (I turned on the light to look at the time. The cries had probably wakened me.) The morning before they began when it was still dark. I did not ascertain the time. When one person started shrieking, the others usually joined in, and continued for an hour or two. Then all would be silent for several hours, when the cries would be resumed.

One day when I had a new nurse she introduced herself thus: "I know you are not insane." She was endeavoring to be kind. But it was staggering to have people express their friendliness to you by assuring you that they did not consider you insane!

Alice Paul in Prison

By Lavinia Dock

SQUARE, dull, unlovely in its box-like proportions and dingy red brick, stands a big building on the outskirts of Washington City.

As all buildings wear an outward expression of inner atmosphere so about this one hangs an air of something forbidding, alien to human cheerfulness. Beside it is an open terrace with a pleasant cottage set upon it. On its other side is a typical American jail, feebly and absurdly imitating in its architecture the features of old-world castles whose towers concealed the dungeons within. Still farther beyond is a group of low white cottage hospital pavilions set in green.

All these buildings are under the control of the District of Columbia, that small autocracy in the midst of American states which so completely typifies the defective political structure of our temple of democracy.

IN the jail, in small barred cells, are some prisoners whose only offense has been that they carried banners bearing their appeal for the redress of grievances to the White House gates. Their treatment is harsh enough—no exercise, no fresh air or sunshine, no occupation, wretched jail food, sordid jail clothing,—yet when compared with the equipment still further available in that place for oppressing the spirit, the jail seems almost cheerful.

Leave it, go toward the cottage, and slip softly around the garden terrace to face the gloomy red brick building with its blank nine-foot wall surrounding a bare stretch of ungrassed ground. At an upper narrow, barred window appears a slip of a figure. Beyond it the background is black and against the dark setting Alice Paul's face looks colorless and wan, her eyes sunken and hollow, her hands like little picked birds. What is this sinister building and what is she doing there?

The answer sounds totally incredible, yet it is true. This is the psycopathic building of the District jail. Here are confined lunatics, drug addicts, alcoholics, and certain surgical cases whose nature the warden refuses to disclose. Here Alice Paul has been placed, and here a commissioner of the District, in person has said to her: "You are the ringleader; you shall see now that the police are on top." Here a conspiracy, medieval in its blind brutishness, is being carried on to make it appear that Alice Paul needs to be kept "under observation." Medical persecution is subtly applied, to shake, perhaps, if maybe her mental serenity, or cause such signs of resentment or alarm as might be reported as evidence of mental instability.

This sounds impossible, yet it is true. "You are mentally unfit to decide whether you should be examined or not," said to her a medical persecutor of the type persisting from that of olden times whose function it was to keep patients sufficiently alive to suffer the utmost meed of cruelty.

IT was a sweet mild evening, with a delicate, far-off, faded sunset and the first stars coming into the sky, when we slipped around the terrace to call up to Alice Paul through the bars of her one narrow window (her second window, looking toward the street, had been shuttered and barred by the medical persecutor when he learned her craving for fresh air).

Two New York girls among us, whose parents had told them of Russian prisons, wept at the sight of the dark window and the sound of the steady voice coming down from behind the bars. "Can it be true?" they said. "We see it with our eyes and yet we cannot believe it can be so in this country!"

The solid door of her cell had been removed, leaving only a grated one; "to keep her under observation" is the official explanation. Is it also to wear out her endurance by the cries and screams of the insane patients? For she can hear them all.

And yet, without effort and without strain Alice Paul is her equable self, her spirit not only undaunted as ever, but even buoyant. "I am really feeling quite well," she calls down.

"How does the picketing go? What is happening outside? What is New York doing?"

These are the important things to her.

"What message shall we take back from you," we cry. The voice comes down, weak, but earnest: "Tell them I want so much to have everyone understand just why we are forcibly fed and why we resist. It is *not* just to carry on a hunger strike for the sake of being released. We are protesting against treating political prisoners as though they were ordinary criminals. We are upholding the right of prisoners, who had carried on a political agitation to secure the redress of political grievances, to have different treatment in our jails, as they have in those of every foreign country. If there is no precedent here for this we will try to establish one."

IT is hard to fancy that suffragists there are, of vision so short, that they can actually declare "She got herself there; there let her stay." Truly, in the long struggle for human liberty it has ever been true that the non-conformist had only to conform, to escape all penalties, all persecutions. The dissenter had only to submit, the political agitator had only to subserve, and all would be forgiven. Jail doors would open. The approbation of the conventional and the conservative would be gained. But what then of human liberty? Dead would it have been, and buried beneath walls of stone.

Woman Suffrage in Wartime

IF this country had been at war six years instead of six months, women would be voting in all the states of the Union. Suffering and self-sacrifice bring people to a sense of their common humanity, and decrease the antagonisms of politics, religion, and sex.

It is only when a nation is just entering a war, and before blood and money have actually been spent, that the purely military ideal dominates all others. At first, service on the firing line so completely takes possession of many imaginations that no other seems worth considering. To them the suggestion that women are necessary or even helpful in prosecuting war is actually repugnant. Last spring an officer of high rank in our army told the head of a great organization of women that the only war service women could render was by recruiting. "Not," he added, "that they will get any recruits, but if they are pretty they may get some useful publicity."

At the beginning of the war English women met this difficulty in getting their services accepted by the government; the conviction that a world at war must be entirely ordered and served by men. But as the war went on it turned out to be a matter not only of masculine heroism, but of national organization, the emotions of domination began to die down, and the emotions of union and co-operation began to rise. The result of this change may be seen today. Our allies are rapidly enfranchising women. Canada has given them the vote in six provinces and a federal bill is now to be introduced. Russia has given full suffrage, the French Chamber has accepted a favorable report on municipal suffrage, the British government is behind the bill which has already passed the House of Commons. In spite of certain statesmen, who seem as much surprised to discover patriotism in women as affection in fishes, it is clear that this enfranchisement is being given not as a reward, but as a spontaneous expression of national unity.

This sense of comradeship always comes from suffering and toiling together. What it means, in a nation as thoroughly energized as, for example, Great Britain, is intense co-operative effort on the largest scale. Arbitrarily to draw the line at voting, at a time when every man and woman must share in this effort, becomes an absurd anomaly. The conviction spreads that it is irrational to keep women disfranchised when their work has grown more obviously necessary than ever before to the continued existence of the nation. . . . National unity must fall short of completeness so long as women are told that in just one form of activity possible to them, voting, they are deemed incompetent.—*From The New Republic, October 27.*

The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Free Will

FROM the beginning of their campaign the suffrage pickets have presented to the Administration a series of alternatives, on one side of which have stood justice to twenty million women, public order, and political glory for the Democratic Party, on the other hypocrisy, public confusion, and political embarrassment.

In the early days of picketing the choice lay with President Wilson, the leader of the Administration, to urge and thus secure the passage of the federal amendment, or to let the world see women shiver at his gate with their petitions for liberty. He chose to ignore the petitions.

The situation grew more acute, and the President had to decide whether he would "speak to his party" about suffrage, or permit Administration tools to throw American women into jail because they asked him for political freedom. He chose, and new Russia saw the women of the "free" United States jailed—and wondered.

The next phase was when women were maltreated by street hoodlums, men in sailor's uniforms, government clerks and policemen, because the Administration preferred to turn lose the mob rather than establish democracy.

Now women are cut off from friends, cuffed and threatened by workhouse guards, dragged through workhouse corridors, starved and subjected to the tortures of forcible feeding because by order of the Commissioners, appointed by the President, jail authorities choose to inflict these indignities rather than grant recognition as political offenders to women whose only offense has been that they persisted in asking President Wilson for liberty.

Physical discomfort, jail humiliation, mob violence, terrorism, and torture cannot break spirits with a vision of freedom or silence a demand for justice. The alternative which the pickets demanded is still before the President. How much will he force women to endure before he recognizes the right of Americans who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government?

Inez Milholland

By Beulah Amidon

A YEAR ago on November 25 Inez Milholland laid down her gallant young life "for liberty." The last words she spoke in public, at the Los Angeles meeting in the closing days of the 1916 campaign, have been repeated to hundreds of thousands of Americans by the golden picket banners at the gates of the White House: "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

The question is still unanswered. Because they persisted in asking it, thirty-four American women are in jail today. Worn and emaciated and suffering, the same vision lights the eyes of these "prisoners of freedom" that used to gleam before Inez Milholland as she lay in her hospital room looking out at the sunshine and the roses, and the far misty mountains.

"IT is such a big, clean world," she said to me once. "I lie here and try to remember that somewhere people are petty and cruel and unthinking. I lie here and try to remember that there are people without vision and without any dream of liberty. And I can't believe it." Inez Milholland's sudden, flashing smile lighted her white face. "And I think of the fights, too—the fights all over the world, hot, splendid ones—fights for our visions and our hopes and our faiths. And they are always such simple things we fight for. If they were complex, you could understand the necessity for the struggles we make. But suffrage, you know—it's so easy, and that one man could give it to us. And here four generations of women have beaten the wings of their energy and their strength against that one little barrier—I lie here and try to believe it isn't just some sick fancy of mine."

ANOTHER day, weeks later, I saw her again, through the half-opened door. Her black hair lay on the pillow about her face. Her eyes were closed. I thought she was asleep, and I stood looking at her, a spent crusader. But she wasn't asleep, and after awhile she opened her eyes and looked at me and smiled.

"You came to say good-bye," she said. "All kinds of good luck in the Middle West. It won't be very long before people will understand. It's not going to be so hard now. Women have shown their power. Good-bye." There were unfamiliar little hesitations between the words, and there wasn't much of the old ring in her voice. Three days later Inez Milholland died.

"IT'S not going to be so hard now," she said. She could not have foreseen the days ahead. No one could have foreseen them or believed them. Riots, arrests, workhouse sentences, solitary cells, hunger strikes, forcible feeding—who would have believed these things could happen in free America? They are happening today, and women are enduring them, with the same indomitable spirit that carried Inez Milholland westward and still westward, with her plea for freedom, even though she was sick to death. And women will go on enduring them, as long as it is necessary, that the question which she died in the asking may never be silenced until it is answered—"Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

"Winter's Tale"

One night, just a few swift-flown years ago,
Among the shadowy pines on Sunset Hill,
We watched you play "Hermione." How still,
How breathless still you stood, lest the King know
The statue lived! Our young hearts were aglow
With your enmarbled loveliness—until
You stirred at last, and let the warm life thrill
Through your whole radiant being.—Even so
We have but dreamed your death, O unstilled heart!
We shall awake, in strange days yet to be,
Triumphant days, and find you standing there;
So shall we wait, with eager lips apart,
And see your clear eyes light with victory,
And watch the breath of freedom stir your hair.

—*Hazel B. Poole.*

National Advisory Council Conference at Washington in December

WITH the country settling down to a war that conscripts women; Congress convening after learning the temper of the people for democracy; a nation-rousing campaign of the Woman's Party closing in to Washington from the West, the East and the South; and with about thirty women in prison under brutal conditions for asking the passage of the federal amendment—suffragists will meet in Washington early next month to consult on the situation for national suffrage.

Every political sign points to the passage of the federal amendment next session of Congress. That this Administration stop its infamous treatment of women, and that President Wilson go on to final action on suffrage, the National Woman's Party will hold a National Advisory Council conference at Headquarters on December 6, 7, 8 and 9. A conference at this time will also give the officers of the Party an opportunity to work out a closer organization of their forces for the final drive for enfranchising women.

To the fourth Advisory Council conference of the Party have been summoned the members of the Advisory Council, the heads of national departments, and all state, district, and county officers. These will constitute the voting membership, but all members of the Woman's Party are urged to come to the conference as guests. Following closely on the wide-speaking campaign that has stirred the country to indignation over the treatment the Democratic Administration gives women, and coming at the start of the session of Congress likely to prove the most memorable of all sessions in the history of the amendment, the conference will draw great numbers of women from voting and non-voting states to Washington. Miss Alice Paul, national chairman, and three other members of the National Executive Committee of the Party are in prison; Mrs. Agnes Morey, of the Advisory Council, is also serving a sentence. The seriousness of this struggle for the amendment and the need for its immediate settlement if women are not further senselessly to be sacrificed will be brought home to the conference.

Committees in charge of the conference plans are hard at work at Headquarters now and the program is almost complete. The conference will open on the evening of Thursday, December 6, with a reception given the members and guests of the conference by the District of Columbia branch of the Party. Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, chairman of the branch, is in charge of the committee on arrangements for this reception, which will be held at Rauchers at nine o'clock.

Friday will be given up to business sessions. At ten o'clock the members of the Advisory Council will meet, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York City, chairman of the council, presiding. The reports for the year will be read and discussion of work will follow. The Advisory Council will probably at this time organize more definitely to carry on the many-sided assistance this strong group of women has developed into giving the Party. Growing rapidly in the last year, which has called out the spirit and loyalty of women as never before for active suffrage service, the Advisory Council now consists of 123 representative women. Plans will probably be made for their future regular meetings.

In the afternoon at two-thirty the Advisory Council, the state chairmen, heads of departments and all the other members and guests of the conference will meet to receive a committee from the new National Party, recently formed in Chicago by a union of Prohibitionists, Progressives, Socialists and various independents in politics. The new party has delegated a committee to present to the Woman's Party an invitation to join it for a campaign to elect fifty congressmen in the 1918 elections. At this session, at which Mrs. Rogers will serve as chairman, Miss Anne Martin, vice-chairman of the Woman's Party, will speak on "The Status of the Amendment," and Miss Mabel Vernon, national secretary, will give a report of the past work of the Party and an outline of future plans. A resolutions committee will be appointed at this session.

On Saturday there will again be morning and afternoon business sessions. At ten o'clock the state chairmen will meet with the heads of departments to discuss closer co-operation. This will be the first meeting of the state chairmen, and will give them the opportunity to co-ordinate plans and state methods of forwarding the amendment work. They will probably organize as a body, elect a chairman and arrange for further meetings.

At two-thirty the whole conference will again meet, with Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., in the chair. This session will discuss the proposal of the National Party made on Friday. The resolutions committee will report, and Miss Maud Younger, head of the lobby committee, will speak on the legislative situation and the influence of picketing on Congress.

On Saturday evening, at seven-thirty, a dinner will be given in honor of suffrage prisoners. Mrs. Thomas Hepburn, of Connecticut, will serve as toastmistress, and several of the released prisoners will speak. These, as well as other speakers, will be announced later. Mrs. Richard Wainwright, of Washington, is chairman of the committee of arrangements for this dinner, and reservations can be made now through her for places at it. Reservations are $2.50 a plate and the tickets will be delivered by Mrs. Wainwright at Headquarters during the mornings of the 7th and 8th, from nine to twelve.

On Sunday at three o'clock the conference will be brought to a close by a great mass meeting to be held at the Belasco Theater. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont will preside at this meeting, and released picket prisoners will be seated on the platform. Among the speakers will be Mr. Dudley Field Malone, the former collector of the Port of New York, and now chief counsel for the prisoners. Names of other speakers will be announced later.

Immediately after the mass meeting a reception will be given at the Raleigh Hotel in honor of the Advisory Council by Mrs. Howard Gould, of New York, who will return to Washington for the conference from campaigning through the South with Miss Maud Younger, in the "suffrage car." The chairman of the committee on arrangements for the reception is Mrs. William Kent, of California.

Miss Grace Needham, hospitality chairman, is at work on lists of rooms and hotels for the help of members and guests of the conference. For general information about the conference write to Miss Catherine Flanagan, organization secretary.

Prison Congress Asked to Investigate Occoquan

THE arrest and abuse of American women in prison for carrying suffrage banners has focussed the attention of the country north and south, east and west. This fact was exemplified when the annual Congress of the American Prison Association, which also draws its delegates from Canada and Cuba, met in New Orleans on the nineteenth of this month.

Miss Maud Younger and Mrs. Howard Gould had lately drawn the attention of men and women in the state to the inquisitional conditions at Occoquan; and the press had just carried the strange story—strange in the twentieth century—of a young woman—Miss Lucy Burns—whose hands, *tried above her head, had been manacled to the bars of a cell in Occoquan workhouse.* The first fact drawn to the attention of the great Congress in New Orleans was that men and women of the Southern city were anxious to "meet" Superintendent Whittaker, of Occoquan.

By a curious irony Mr. Whittaker was scheduled to preach a "sermon" at a local Presbyterian church in New Orleans. The sermon of the notorious prison warden, it so happened, was announced in the same Sunday newspaper section of three New Orleans papers that also gave publicity to the fact that because of cruelty charges

preferred, habeas corpus proceedings had been instituted in Washington on behalf of the suffrage prisoners confined in Mr. Whittaker's institution.

The result was that the Presbyterian church was crowded. Men who had heard Miss Maud Younger at a great open-air meeting the week before went to church with purposeful determination. But Mr. Whittaker did not preach the scheduled sermon. The very habeas corpus proceeding which the papers were giving belated notice of had "detained" Mr. Whittaker in Washington.

The indignation of New Orleans citizens vented itself in seeking the ear of Secretary Byers and President Peyton of the Prison Association, and making individual or mass protests that called for an investigation into prison conditions in Virginia. The New Orleans press men, who had come to demand an interview with "the man who has done these things to suffragists" were forced to content themselves with such resolutions.

The Daughters of America, a patriotic organization of six hundred Louisiana women, of which Miss M. Stover is president, and Mrs. W. Warden, treasurer, sent in a resolution asking for an investigation by a committee of the prison organization into affairs at Occoquan. A resolution to the same purpose was sent to the executive board by the Louisiana Branch of the National Woman's Party, with Mrs. M. L. Graham Bankston as chairman, and Mrs. Randolph Lyons as secretary.

A third stirring demand for action on the part of the great prison association came from the Women's Union Label League, "representing the wives and daughters of twenty thousand union working men of the City of New Orleans." It was the voices of these men and women that had been lifted in actual protest at the great open-air meeting held by Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould in Lafayette Square. The Labor Resolution sent to the Prison Congress read as follows:

New Orleans, La., November 19. 1917.

At a regular meeting of the Women's Union Label League, held Thursday, November 15, 1917, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, it has come to the knowledge of our organization through numerous and diverse channels, that women engaged in peaceful picketing at the White House in the City of Washington, D. C., have been arrested, and

WHEREAS, said women, have been confined and illegally deprived of their rights of petition and their inherent rights of advice of counsel, and

WHEREAS, said women, not being criminally charged, have received the atrocious and inhumane treatment accorded the most hardened criminals; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this organization petition this honorable and influential body to take up this matter, and cause to be investigated the treatment accorded the women at the jail in Washington, D. C., and at Occoquan Prison; and be it further

Resolved, That this League, representing the wives and daughters of twenty thousand union working men of the City of New Orleans, strongly protest and voice their sentiments against these harsh measures; and be it further

Resolved, That, if upon investigation, these statements are found to be facts, that your honorable body, within whose province this matter rests, co-operate in correcting and alleviating this unjust and barbarous treatment.

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) ANNA MORRELL, *Chairman.*
MRS. L. J. ERICKSON,
JAMES LEONARD,
JOHN SCHULTE,
A. J. FERNANDEZ,
Committee.

New York Delegation Will Support Federal Suffrage

BEGINNING a series of deputations to New York representatives, newly enfranchised members of the National Woman's Party went in a deputation to Representative James P. Maher, of the Fifth Congressional District, Brooklyn, on Monday evening, November 19. Representative Maher received the women at the Seneca Club. About fifty women voters, many of whom were constituents of Mr. Maher, filled the spacious drawing-rooms, while men members crowded the adjoining halls, even filling the stairway, eager to hear what the women had to say.

Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., presented the demand of women for the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment at the session of Congress opening in December, explaining briefly the intolerable situation of women being imprisoned for petitioning for political liberty, dwelling especially on the experience of Miss Lucy Burns, of Brooklyn, who is Mr. Maher's constituent.

Miss Janet Burns read an extract from her sister, Lucy Burns, now a prisoner under a six months' sentence in the Washington prison for petitioning for liberty, showing the high purpose and self-sacrificing desire to help other women which animated this "prisoner of freedom" in making her willing to suffer a repeated and arbitrary sentence.

"It would be wise and expedient,' added Miss Marion May, "now that the nation-wide enfranchisement of women is admitted to be inevitable in the near future, that the Democratic Party cease its obstruction in Congress, and give the suffrage measure its whole-hearted support. It would thereby avoid the very just resentment of women voters who know that Democratic support can speedily put the measure through the December session of Congress."

"On January 12, 1915," replied Maher, "I voted in Congress for the Susan B. Anthony amendment. (Applause from the women). Some of my colleagues who then laughed at me are now making a sudden right-about-face on this issue. Twenty years ago I met Miss Anthony and heard her speak in Detroit, and I am no recent convert to the cause. I can say that you will have the support of the New York delegation. (More applause). Any service which I can render in behalf of Miss Burns, I shall be very glad to do. I will write to the President about the situation."

No previous deputation to Congressmen has aroused the same quality of interest on the part of men in the political clubs.

FOLLOWING the interview with Representative Maher, the same group of women saw Representative Frederick W. Rowe, of the Sixth Congressional District, at his residence. "I shall vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. This is a national question," said Representative Rowe. "There is no doubt about that. The Federal Suffrage Amendment will undoubtedly receive a full vote of New York representatives. It will pass by a large majority. Now that the complete success of suffrage is inevitable, many men who were formerly indifferent or even personally opposed, will hesitate to be recorded adversely on a vote of this nature, which they know will be successful anyway. As in the war vote, many men will feel it better for the country that suffrage shall be granted federally by an almost unanimous vote.

"I voted for suffrage in the referendum both in 1915 and this month, but, as you know, I have not previously supported the federal amendment, until the overwhelming mandate of the recent election indicated the will of my constituents and the vote of my state. Now this matter is greatly clarified."

Mrs. Rogers pointed out that the suffrage pickets have broken no law; that picketing is legal; carrying banners is legal; that the right of petition to the President in any peaceful manner is legal; and that the suffrage pickets were arrested on the trumped-up charge of "obstructing traffic," which was in fact not true.

Mr. Rowe was urged to protest against the treatment as criminals of these splendid liberty-loving women and to demand that they be treated as political prisoners. Miss Elsie Hill, of Connecticut, daughter of the late Congressman Hill, advised Mr. Rowe to urge on his Republican colleagues the tactical advantage of forcing the hand of the Democratic Party in this issue of nation-wide suffrage. A great opportunity offers itself to the Republican Party in forcing to immediate and successful action at the December opening of Congress, the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, she pointed out.

Rising Tide of Suffrage Protest Sweeps Country

NOTHING more clearly foretells the day of reckoning for the Democratic Party in this country than the progress of the Woman's Party speakers, East, West, and South—into the doubtful territory, into the territory controlled by Democratic tradition, where the story of the persecution of suffragists at Washington has had an unbelievably telling effect. The story of the suffrage picket in Washington, that gallant ten months' struggle to keep the suffrage flag flying for democracy at home; the persecution of the pickets, the story of their treatment in prison, as told by women such as Anne Martin, of Nevada, vice-chairman of the Woman's Party; Maud Younger, of California; Mrs. Howard Gould, of New York; Mabel Vernon, of Delaware; Abby Scott Baker, of Washington, has given an authentic picture to the country as a whole of the attack of the Administration on women working for their liberty. It was a picture that partisan and garbled newspaper accounts had refused to give.

DURING the last week Miss Maud Younger and Mrs. Howard Gould have penetrated the heart of the South. They have swung round the Southern circle the last fortnight, speaking in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, to return through Tennessee and Kentucky, arriving in the Capital in time for the national convention. There have been few States in which Southern governors and mayors and other official representatives have not met the two women, who are making the tour in Mrs. Gould's car, and made them officially welcome in their cities. Speaking in five cities in Mississippi, Senator Vardaman and Attorney General Ross Collins were present at the Jackson meeting, the wife of the attorney general, who became a member of the Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party, acting as chairman of the meeting.

In Biloxi, Mississippi, where Colonel J. C. Hardy, president of the local military academy, presided, saying that though he disapproved of picketing, he was open-minded, the military man recanted following the meeting, publicly declaring that after hearing the facts he had changed his mind; that "picketing for suffrage was right, and should be continued."

In Southern cities often the sheriffs insist on showing the local jails and their cells to the suffragists to impress upon them the fact that in the South they would not be discriminated against as they are in the Capital. "Keep up your fight and establish the right to picket!" was the final word of the sheriff of Jackson, the capital city of Mississippi.

In Alabama meetings were held in Gadsden, where Representative Burnett was in the keenly attentive audience; in Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, Selma and Mobile. In Birmingham, on a freezing night, a large audience stood for over an hour to listen to the speakers, including Congressman "Buck" Oliver, and local judges and professional men. In Montgomery Representatives Dent and Heflin were present at the meetings, the latter afterward sending word to Miss Younger that he had wired to the President "demanding an investigation of Occoquan workhouse." At the Mobile meeting in Bienville Square more than 2,000 listened to the speakers, including judges, anxious to hear the legal case for picketing, and the whole city administration.

In Louisiana meetings were held in New Orleans, and in the state capital, Baton Rouge, under the auspices of the Louisiana Branch of the National Woman's Party, with Mrs. M. L. Graham Bankston as chairman. A large meeting in the afternoon in the Gold Room of the Grunewald Hotel drew hundreds of women into the fight for the amendment, and presented the contest in the Capital in a new light. The great meeting in historic Lafayette Square, with Mayor Behrman presiding, confirmed the growing impression that there had all along been a reason for picketing, but that there was no reason for the Government persecution of pickets. Following the stirring presentation in Baton Rouge, with the mayor of the state capital making his first speech for federal suffrage, Mrs. Gould and Miss Younger carried the federal suffrage banners into Texas, through a series of the most successful meetings of the Southern tour.

In Houston, where mass meetings and business men's meetings were held, ex-Mayor Ben Campbell made a powerful plea for the passage of federal suffrage during the next Congress, and resolutions calling for the passage of the amendment were passed unanimously by the great meeting.

In San Antonio a brilliant luncheon was tendered Miss Younger and Mrs. Gould with Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, president of the Equal Franchise Society, presiding. The mass meeting held in the evening on beautiful and historic Alamo Square proved one of the largest and most enthusiastic in the South. In Austin Governor Hobby, of Texas, pledged his unqualified support and dazed the newspapers and politicians of his State.

The noteworthy statement of Mr. George W. Brackenridge, of San Antonio, whose large endowment last summer opened the doors of Columbia University Medical School to women, was made following the San Antonio meetings. "The treatment of the White House pickets is outrageous," he said. "Such treatment would not have been dreamed of by this government for any group of men similarly protesting for their rights." Mr. Brackenridge is a trustee of the University of Texas, where one of the meetings were held.

WITH meetings held this week in Buffalo, Boston, Burlington, Montpelier, the annual conference of the Pennsylvania Branch of the National Woman's Party was a noteworthy event in Philadelphia this week. At the night session Dudley Field Malone placed the responsibility for the present painful suffrage situation on the President when he said: "Although the President is not technically charged with the duty of advocating the passage of a federal suffrage amendment, it is nevertheless true that no important piece of legislation has been passed by Congress since his election, which he did not advocate, whether it was his duty or not."

There were unique features of the conference. Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, daughter of the late Representative E. J. Hill, gave a talk on the picket situation illustrated with graphic slides of the picket at the White House from the date of its appearance nearly a year ago. Six of the women who had served sentences in prison were among the speakers, including Miss Mary Ingham, Miss Lavinia Dock, Mrs. Weed, Miss Mary Winsor.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, Miss Mary H. Ingham, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia; first vice-chairman, Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pittsburgh, Pa.; second vice-chairman, Miss Joan L. Brumm, Minersville, Pa.; treasurer, Miss Rebecca D. Ernst, Philadelphia; recording secretary, Mrs. Mary Churchman Morgan, Philadelphia; corresponding secretary, Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy, Philadelphia; chairman of membership, Miss Cecelia P. Bass, 60 North Edgewood Street, Philadelphia; chairman of THE SUFFRAGIST (official organ), Miss Elizabeth D. Elder, Wayne, Pa.; chairman of publicity, Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Forty-fifth Street and Osage Avenue, Philadelphia. Members of executive committee: Miss Alice Brock, Wynnewood, Pa.; Miss Fanny Travis Cochran, Westtown, Pa.; Miss Florence L. Sanville, Germantown; Mrs. Pope Yeatman, Philadelphia; Miss Harriet W. Dulles, Philadelphia; Mrs. L. M. B. Mitchell, Philadelphia.

IN the Far West Miss Anne Martin continues to arouse indignation by her graphic and frank account of the present situation. Following her thoroughly western welcome in Nevada, her home State, from which she had been absent more than a year; and the successful meetings of Oregon, Miss Martin last week "conquered California prejudice," as one woman put it.

A strong State for the Woman's Party, prejudiced newspaper accounts of picketing had alienated a section of the public, and men and women alike gasped over Miss Martin's first-hand accounts of the brutalities at Occoquan. The San Francisco Center of the California Civic League, the largest woman's organization in California, stated following the San Francisco meetings that if Miss Martin's accounts were accurate, the great organization would take action and make an active protest. Mrs. William Kent, a member in Washington, was consulted by wire. Mrs. Kent with an immediate answer confirmed Miss Martin's story.

In Southern California as well, where the Los Angeles and San Diego meetings were arranged by Mrs. Vernon Voorhees Rood, the southern chairman, the reaction was spontaneous. The suffrage tide has turned—in favor of the women who have made the most virile demand for political liberty that has ever arrested public attention in this country.

Comments of the Press

An Admission

WHAT fruits of the woman suffrage movement, what manifestation of the spirit that prompts women to ask for the ballot, have chiefly commanded the attention of the country during this year of trial, of sacrifice, and of danger? One is the picketing of the White House by suffragists as a means of putting the President of the United States under duress, of compelling him to take the action favored by the extreme wing of the suffrage party.—*The New York Times, November 5.*

Alice Paul

ALICE PAUL, leader of the suffrage pickets, is at last in jail after four years of organized opposition to the Democratic Administration. She was imprisoned for seven months on October 22 for holding a banner at a gate of the White House, saying, "How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?"

Alice Paul is a Quaker by birth and her home is in Moorestown, N. J. Four years ago she came to Washington unknown and without money. She has in four years raised and spent over $300,000 and formed a national organization of 50,000 members.

She has changed the federal suffrage amendment from an academic phrase of hope to an immediate issue in politics. She has moved it from the lecture platform to the party platform, from the propaganda leaflet to the Senate calendar, where it now waits for its prophesied passage as a war measure in the next session of Congress.—*New York Call, October 25.*

Ryan Walker in The New York Call

The Rise of the Spirit

The Picket Persecution

THE constitutional amendment is due to American women as the final crown of their magnificent struggle, and history should write in shining letters that the Great Republic has underwritten with splendid national emphasis the battle-bought verdict of the several states.

If this great thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well, and if it is worth doing well, it is worth doing quickly.

No partisan devotion to the doctrine of states' rights should stay the hand of a great government challenged by history and justice to its duty. If it was within the genius of the Government and the spirit of the Constitution to destroy negro slavery by the act of the Constitution, it should be much more within the genius of our institutions and the spirit of the Constitution to destroy woman slavery by the act of the Constitution.

It would be the sensible thing, the generous thing, the graceful thing, for the Sixty-fifth Congress to make itself immortal by writing the constitutional amendment among its very earliest and clearest statutes and give it promptly to the entire country to applaud and approve in a national vote.

It is a great mistake to halt the wheels of progress. It is a serious error for the narrow-minded of any country to throw themselves before the advancing car of judgment and justice.

The President of the United States did a great thing for the country, and he did a great service in a great crisis to the woman's cause, when he left the White House and came to New York to lay his great name and influence in the balance of the ballots of the Empire State of the Republic and the metropolis of the world. The women of the country should recognize this service and let no mere differences of opinion blind them to its appreciation.

The militant branch of the woman's party who have been active at Washington have also been sincere. They have been doing their duty as they saw it. They have been helping their great cause in the way they deemed most effective. They have indicated sincerity and courage and devotion by being willing to dare and to do and to suffer in the honest effort to advance the cause that was nearest to their hearts. If they have been sensational, they have also been brave and patient and self-sacrificing.

These women do not deserve to have suffered or been made to suffer as they have done. It was not necessary to have subjected them to the indignities which they have undergone. The punishment was not made to fit the crime, but far outweighed it in severity and, in some cases, in cruelty.

It is not well for the strong hand of the law to be laid too heavily upon faults of conviction that contemplate no violence beyond the free speech of advocacy. It is not well for a Government to be too autocratic.

Autocracy is not the consistent attitude of a powerfully professed democracy.

Extra federalization, extra centralization in restriction of the right of individuals will surely react against parties and administrations—even if it is the Democratic Administration and the Democratic party.

"The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," was the cry of the persecuted saints. And modern history has vindicated the cry as emphatically as ancient history illustrated its truth.

These martyrs of suffrage may yet survive to be its heroines, if not its saints.—*New York American, November 14.*

Results

ONE may consistently pause to remark that our President has exhibited a most remarkable change of front on the issue of woman's suffrage and yesterday, in speaking to a large delegation of suffragists from New York, he gave utterance to views on the subject which he has never apparently entertained during his political career. In other words, the President has been converted to the gospel of the equal franchise propaganda, hitherto opposed by him, and has become an outspoken advocate of the suffrage cause.

The indifference of Mr. Wilson to this same issue, or rather his obstinate disapproval of the doctrine of equal franchise, brought a formidable line-up against him during the national campaign of 1916. The influence of the woman's party in the states where women do not vote and the great majority of the women's vote in equal suffrage states were united to defeat Wilson and the Dem-

ocratic party. So well understood in opposition to the suffrage cause has been the attitude of the President that since his second inauguration the White House has been picketed daily, numerous riots and disorders have occurred and a number of the most prominent women workers have been arrested and imprisoned for participating in these disorders.

Today President Woodrow Wilson is a staunch advocate of woman's suffrage.

Yesterday Mr. Wilson told the ladies who visited him that he "esteemed it a privilege" to meet and talk with them. Not so very long ago he used to manifest an artfulness in keeping out of the way of the suffrage boosters who called at White House and more than once emphatically declined to receive delegations.

Why this sudden change of attitude? Is it not possible that in the midst of war and the cares and perplexities of his high office he has found opportunity to strengthen political fences for his party for 1920?—*Trinidad (Colo.) Chronicle-News, October 26.*

Our Civilization

NO unprejudiced person could have read the remarkable letter written by Miss Heffelfinger from the Washington jail and printed in the *Public Ledger* on Sunday without a deep feeling of indignation that such things as she there describes are possible in this country in this age.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the propriety or wisdom of the acts which brought the pickets within the confines of the District of Columbia jail and workhouse, no matter what may be thought of the conduct of the prisoners themselves, there is abundant evidence that they have been treated with a brutality and inhumanity that are not only absolutely inexcusable but that reflect indelible disgrace upon a civilization which tolerates in public institutions conditions which make for disease and which confirm criminality.

That the suffrage pickets have offered a troublesome problem to the authorities is clear enough, but the initial blunders were of the District authorities' own making. . . . Their refusal to submit silently to filthy surroundings, unsuitable food and harsh and discriminating discipline has won for them a host of sympathizers.—*The Philadelphia Public Ledger, November 12.*

From the States' Rights South

THE forcing of white women of breeding and intelligence to:

Scrub the floors of lavatories and dormitories set aside for and occupied by negro prostitutes and drunks:

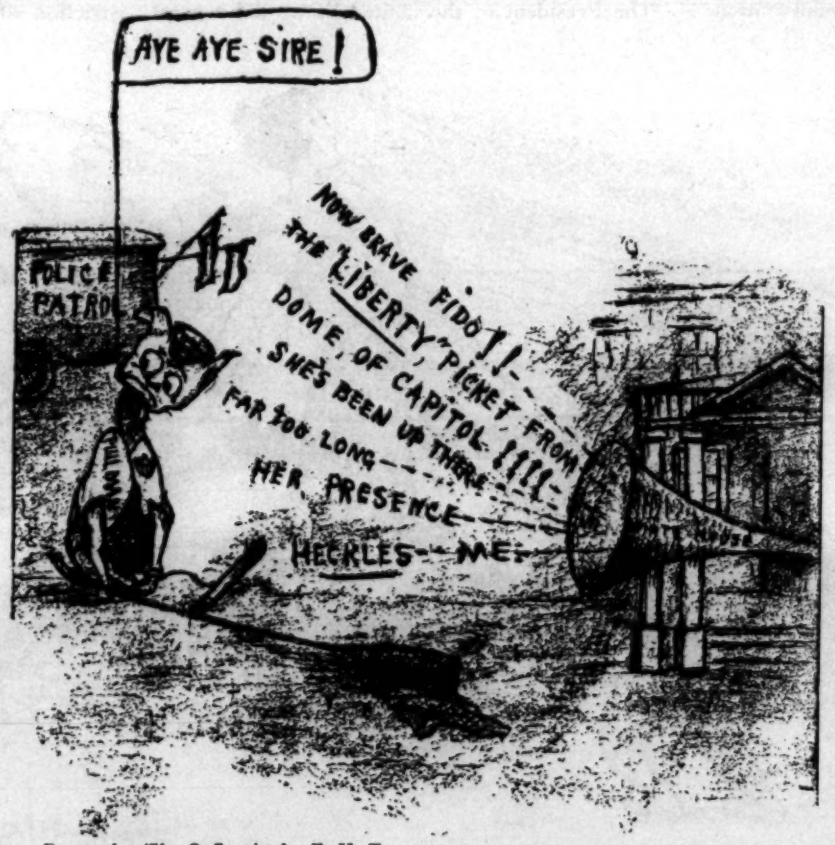
To scrape paint from benches in the recreation rooms of the lowest type of confined negroes—without gloves;

To strip naked in a large room in company with the lowest negro women of the town, bathe with them and don uniforms hitherto worn exclusively by the filthiest type of negro prisoners;

To sleep in rooms with drunken negro women;

To occupy "punishment" cells, for asking for lighter work, that had just been vacated without a change of bedding by the lowest type of negro women of the town—

was told of in detail in Macon the night before last by an earnest woman of fine personal appearance, perfect diction and a most convincing lack of rancor, and was listened to by a couple of hundred white men who heard it all with lowering brows and rising passion that such things could happen in a free America. It was the story of the treatment of the suffrage pickets in Washington after Mullowny had sent them up to the workhouse for various terms.



Drawn for The Suffragist by E. H. T.

The *Telegraph* can say that these charges against the man-administered and apparently manhandled processes of justice of the District of Columbia are true, even though they lost none in the telling. These charges have been carried in detail in the Washington and other papers. They have not been denied, and they have been little remedied.

Ordinarily we may be safe in presuming that the South will be the last section of the Union to declare for suffrage of any sort. But a few more stories told as Maude Younger told the story of the "picketing" to the men of Macon Thursday night from her automobile rostrum and the South may be found suddenly assuming the lead in this movement; as a form of retributive justice born of that strongest of all our emotions, human sympathy and regard for the decent treatment of a white woman. . . .

If the powers that be want to help the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the South just let them keep on making white women who are fighting for it to do lavatory scrubbing for negro prostitutes. The political phase may soon and easily be lost in the regard of the "man in the street," who seldom goes wrong, for elementary human justice.—*Macon (Ga.) Telegraph.*

Making the Kaiser Smile

THERE are eighteen women in jail in Washington today for asking for democracy for American womanhood. One of these, the leader of the National Woman's Party, Alice Paul, has been sentenced to seven months' imprisonment for this "crime," which has not been regarded as a crime anywhere except in Russia of the czars, until branded as such by the present war Administration of the United States. These women every one of whom are qualified by their intelligence, social-mindedness and integrity of character to occupy seats in Congress instead of cells in jail, are treated by the prison authorities with all the severity, cruelty and total lack of humane understanding which these authorities are accustomed to employ in their treatment of the usual type of unfortunates which come under their dominance.

We have said that only in Russia of the czars were people imprisoned for asking for liberty. But not even in Russia of the czars were political prisoners treated as common criminals. Nina Samorodin, a Russian girl, who joined the picket line in Washington and served a thirty-day sentence in Occoquan, compared the American with the Russian way of treating political offenders. She said:

"If I had been a political prisoner in Russia, I would have been allowed to wear my own clothes and to send out for my own food. I might have had books and stationery and been permitted to communicate with my friends. At Occoquan none of these privileges were granted to me or any of the women arrested and sentenced with me for 'obstructing traffic.'"

This outrageous treatment of women in the United States of America by the elected executive of the American people is creating a profound stir throughout the nation. It is arousing criticism in England and France. It is causing amazement and a shaking of heads over our particular brand of freedom in our new sister republic, liberated Russia. It is probably calling forth a sardonic smile on the lips of the kaiser.—*The New York Call, October 31.*

Where Revolution is Popular

RUSSIA'S death legion gives more support to the cause of equal suffrage than Occoquan. —*Washington (D. C.) Post, November 10.*

Treasurer's Report

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List of Contributions from Nov. 8 Through Nov. 14, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. Sophie G. Sage	$ 25.00
Mrs. Harriet G. Comstock	30.00
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Mrs. Howard Gould	1,000.00
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Miss Marie E. Kennedy	50.00
Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Elizabeth T. Kent	50.00
Miss Lucy Burns	25.00
Miss Joy Webster	15.00
Mrs. J. M. Steed	15.00
Membership Fees	11.75
Collections	10.77
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 2,190.02
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	278,427.38
Total collected by National Headquarters through November 14, 1917	$280,617.40

CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HEADQUARTERS

Contributions made to Pennsylvania Headquarters:

Miss Victoria Ansell	$ 1.00
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice	5.00
Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder	2.00
Miss Florence L. Sanville	5.00
Mrs. G. von Horvart	13.00
Mrs. James Graham	3.00
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg	30.00
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	3.52
Dr. Miriam Butt	2.00
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey	5.00
	$ 69.52

Contributions made to South Carolina Headquarters:

Miss R. P. Webster	$ 5.00
A New York Friend	10.00
A Greenville Member	5.00
Collection Charleston Meeting	13.75
Collection Greenville Meeting	7.26
	$ 41.01

Contributions made to Utah Headquarters:

Mrs. E. C. Jenkins	$ 300.00
A Friend	10.00
Mrs. Sarah E. Cutler	10.00
	$ 320.00
Total collected by Branches	$ 430.53
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	38,769.98
Total collected by Branches through November 14	$ 39,200.51
Grand Total	$319,817.91
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Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	2,261.00
Grand Net Total	$317,556.91

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"O wa'd some power the giftie gie us,
To see ourselves as others see us."
Yours very truly,
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A Crisis for Suffragists

THE suffrage fight is about to go over the top. Just a little more pressure and the enemy must give way. At the front thirty-four women are taking the brunt of the fighting—thirty-four women are in prison for the cause of national suffrage. Suffragists in the rear must back them up.

The press does not tell the whole truth about government persecution of suffragists. Where it can the Government is keeping the truth from being told. THE SUFFRAGIST is the only paper that can tell the whole truth. Get it to one more reader this week. Help make the suffrage prisoners' months in prison win the fight.

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragist"

Week Ending November 17, 1917

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Mrs. Myra Pepper Weller	2
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	2
Mrs. Helen C. Winters	1
Through Wisconsin Branch	1
Miss Joy Young	1
Total	75

A Dinner

in honor of the Picket Prisoners will be given by the National Woman's Party on December 8 at Rauscher's. Reservations through Mrs. Richard Wainwright, 1264 New Hampshire Avenue. Tickets delivered at Headquarters by Mrs. Wainwright on December 7 and 8 from nine to twelve. Tickets, $2.50.

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